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Education of Second Generation Immigrants in Spain: The Quest for Identity and Paths for Integration*

SUMMARY

The aim of this paper is to explore which model of education of immigrant children is being implemented in Spain. Theoretically, it is possible to distinguish in Europe between a trend of total inclusion of immigrants in the educational system of the host society (the so-called French or assimilationist model), and an alternative trend of preserving separation, or even segregation among different cultures (the so-called Anglo-Saxon model). Which trend predominates in Spain, a country with a recent influx of immigrants and an incipient second generation that is trying to define its place in society? If both trends are at work, as often happens, which one predominates in the country? This paper deals with some of the basic questions in migration studies, such as to what degree newcomers are required to adapt to the host society, and what are the challenges facing an educational system regarding the integration of immigrants. This paper aims to answer these questions in a rather exploratory way, since the data available are not exhaustive. In addition to press articles and bibliography, two crucial documents have been consulted. The first one is the recent report on education of immigrants released by the Defensor del Pueblo (the Spanish Ombudsman) in April 2003. The second is the annual report presented by the IMSERSO (Institute of Migration and Social Services) on immigrant pupils in Spain. Both documents offer a clear picture of the problems that education in Spain is facing, regarding immigrant schooling.

KEY WORDS: education, immigrants, Spain, educational reform, educational model

1. Education and Immigrants

Education of immigrants has only been considered a key issue in migration studies since the late 1960's. Traditionally, other issues such as employment legislation, citizenship, political rights and economic predictions have been given priority in this field. Today, however, education has become a crucial domain in the field, especially in those countries whose second or third generations of immigrants are beginning to define their place in society: "when families join the immigrant breadwinners (...) the need to provide schooling for the children becomes a central issue both for the newcomers and for the host country. At this point, education often turns into the key issue in integration" (Pitkänen, Kalekin-Fishman and Verma, 2002: 9).

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It is a given that “any society needs to have boundaries and some degree of cultural and political unity for it to work” and this imposes obligations on individuals who do not belong to a community, but are expected to adapt and fit in with the practices of their host society (Geddes and Favell, 1999: 11). Moreover, a country’s institutions have a duty to preserve their unity and cohesion to protect such groups from the perils of disintegration. Together with these processes of continuity, societies are nevertheless also able to survive (and evolve) thanks to their permeability to external influences and ability to adapt accordingly. In this sense, migration studies are a crucial domain in which this dynamic exclusion/inclusion takes place. Unlike immigration or citizenship policies, “education does not define membership of society or nation in a formal or legal sense. Yet, more than any other policy area, it promotes and transfers understanding of the national community to future generations”. Hence, education policy is a critical factor in understanding the social boundaries of a nation, “since schools are the key institutional location for the State to disseminate ideas about legitimate membership of a nation” (Bleich, 1999: 60–61).

2. Educational Models

Traditionally, there have been three predominant tendencies in Europe regarding education of immigrants (French, Anglo-Saxon and ethnic “models”), corresponding to three approaches of citizenship regimes, each of which defines particular settings concerning migration and ethnic relations. Today, it could be said that there are two broad trends operating in Europe: a trend of total inclusion in the educational system for immigrant children and an alternative trend of reserving separation or even segregation between immigrants and nationals (Pitkänen, Kalenin-Fishman, Verma, 2002: 3). Both trends are often at work simultaneously, making it difficult to talk about “models of education” anymore. Despite the fact that there is no exclusive approach to migrant education, it is still possible to identify some of the dominant tendencies between European countries. They will serve as a starting point for this paper.

The first approach is the so-called French model, also known as the republican or assimilationist model of integration. It consists, basically, of an educational policy which tends toward the assimilation of minority immigrants into the established French culture (Bleich, 1999: 61). This centralised approach does not recognise, at least officially, cultural differences, and aims at the absorption of different groups into the hegemonic culture of the majority. “The republican model is founded on the promise of integration of the individual, who takes precedence over community membership” (Le Saou and Kadri, 2002: 75). Immigrant pupils are, therefore, encouraged to relegate their cultural heritage to the private sphere and to adapt to the universal, rational and secular model of education, which appears in this light as the principal gate of entry into the nation (Broadfoot, Osborn, Planel and Sharpe, 2000: 39).

The Anglo-Saxon approach, also known as the multicultural or pluralist model, is based on the recognition of ethnic communities according to their geographic, cultural or national origins (Le Saou and Kadri, 2002: 75). Members of minority groups are given the opportunity to maintain and develop the central characteristics of their own

cultures, and education policies aim to widen the boundaries of national membership, so that minority cultures may be included therein (Bleich, 1999: 61). Detractors of this tendency claim that it promotes the ghettoisation of society, since immigrants are not successfully integrated, remaining locked in their own communities. Supporters of this model, on the other hand, state that this approach promotes diversity as a central strength of society, permitting minority cultures to have their own voice and enriching the cultural heritage of the host society (Favell, 2001: 156–158).

The so-called ethnic or exclusive approach is today the centre of a heated debate, and its very existence has been called into question (Hahn, 1998: 113–136). This model denies migrants and their descendants access to the political community. Immigrants are considered temporary guests, and their education aims to preserve their original identity during their stay in the host country (Apap, 1997: 151). This model was implemented in some regions of Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Israel, but today is regarded as unacceptable in Europe (Koopmans and Stratham, 2000: 19).

The aim of this paper is to explore which approach the Spanish educational system for immigrant pupils most resembles. Theoretically, as has been stated previously, it is possible to distinguish between a trend of total inclusion of immigrants in the educational system, and an alternative trend of preserving separation, or even segregation. Which trend predominates in Spain, a country with a recent influx of immigrants and an incipient second generation? If both trends are often at work, which one predominates in the country? This paper deals, therefore, with some of the basic questions in migration studies, such as to what degree newcomers are required to adapt to the host society, and what are the challenges facing education for immigrants today. The answers to these questions are offered in an exploratory way, since the data available are not exhaustive. In addition to press articles and bibliography, two relevant documents have been researched. The first one is the report on education of immigrants released by the Defensor del Pueblo (the Spanish Ombudsman) in April 2003 and the second is the annual report presented by the IMSERSO (Institute of Migration and Social Services) on immigrant pupils in Spain.

3. From Autarchy to Modernism: Educational Reform in Spain and the Challenge of Immigration (1975–2001)

The education system in Spain has undergone significant changes over the last two decades. Unlike the centralised, confessional and nationalistic system under Franco, modern Spain offers a very decentralised system, in which all the autonomous communities have full competence in education. Legislative and administrative matters in the area of education are now the responsibility of the various autonomous governments. The only remnants of a central authority are the National Institute for Quality of Evaluation (INCE) and the Conferencia Interterritorial, which once a year brings together representatives of the Spanish communities to discuss educational issues. Apart from monitoring areas such as general arrangements, basic norms and minimum requirements, the central government has a very narrow remit (Ruiz Esturia, 2000: 321–343). The Ministry of Education regulates the minimum curriculum content (55% in communities with their own language, and 65% elsewhere) and autonomous communities are

given freedom to develop the remaining materials in subjects that include history, literature or arts. There are 6 communities with a local language which shares co-official status with Spanish, i.e. Cataluña, the Basque Country, Galicia, País Valenciano, Navarra and the Balearic Islands. The others do not have an official local language but do have the freedom to organise some aspects of the curriculum in the way they consider most appropriate. Certainly, there has been a lengthy process from autarchy to modernism to produce this system, which began with the LODE (Constitutional Law of the Right of Education, 1986) and was recently reformed by the LOCE (Constitutional Law of Quality of Education, 2002). The equivalent of such a decentralised education system is hard to find in Europe. The German Länder, Scottish and Welsh models display a similar degree of de-centralisation in education, whereas in other European countries de-centralisation of education is still a controversial issue (Ireland, France, Italy or Greece).

For years, competence and powers relating to education have been a bone of contention between the autonomous communities and the central government in Spain. Taking into account the number of changes introduced in education after the 1978 Constitution, these tensions seemed to be unavoidable. The values of democracy and tolerance progressively displaced the old authoritarian educational core, but were also followed by the emergence of regional and peripheral identities, which included a clear rejection of centralisation and the aim of including regional culture in the curriculum. This happened not only in the so-called historical communities (Cataluña, the Basque Country and Galicia), but also in other regions that, in order not to be left behind, eagerly created and promoted some “historical sense” of belonging (traditions, local dialects) (Boyd-Barret, 1995: 204–205). Whether this happened due to a need to find a place in the new Spanish educational scenario or as a reaction against the early waves of globalisation remains to be seen. But another question has now arisen, i.e. to what extent different autonomous communities have adapted to the fact of immigration. Or, in other words, has the restoration of local political and cultural structures in Spain led to an increased focus on migrant education or, on the contrary, does it remain a neglected issue?

Spain is a country with a recent history of immigration. Gone are the times when Spanish workers migrated to Germany, Switzerland and France seeking work in the industrial sector. In the last 20 years, the influx of migrants has changed dramatically in Spain, making it one of the countries with the highest direct intake of immigrants in Europe. In parallel with this situation, the number of immigrants in Spanish schools has boomed over the last decade. According to figures from the Ministry of Education, there were 201,518 immigrant pupils in Spanish schools in the academic year 2001–2002. This figure represents only 10% of the total number of pupils, but it nevertheless constitutes an increase of 42.5% compared to the previous academic year. 20% of immigrant pupils were in infant schools, 45% in primary schools, and 25% in secondary schools. More than 80% of immigrant pupils in Spain were located in public institutions whereas less than 20% were studying in private school or colleges.

The majority of immigrant pupils in Spain come from South America (40%) and North Africa (25%), and are mainly located in Madrid, Cataluña, Andalucía, Valencia and Murcia. Madrid is the city with the highest rate of immigrant pupils in Spain, followed by Barcelona. The biggest community in Madrid consists of Ecuadorian pupils (20%

of all foreign pupils), whereas in Barcelona Moroccan pupils are most prevalent (34% of all foreign pupils)¹.

In conclusion, an emerging second generation of immigrants is beginning to define their place in Spanish society. The obvious questions flowing from that are how has the Spanish government dealt with the situation and what resources have been mobilised to meet the challenge of immigrant education?

4. A Timid Response: LOCE (2002)

The first point which should be mentioned is that the Spanish government has not produced specific legislation to deal with immigrant pupils. The most recent education reform in Spain was the controversial Constitutional Law of Quality of Education (LOCE, 2002), the aim of which was to reduce drop out rates and improve the quality of education in Spain. The problem of immigrant education is not specifically addressed in this law, which only offers vague remarks stressing that the reform will also benefit immigrant pupils (*BOE*, 24/12/02: 45118–45220). Scant attention is paid to their special needs and to the special training teachers of immigrant pupils must undergo. More importantly, the law presents itself as being based “on the humanistic values of our European cultural tradition”, which gives an indication of the orientation of its content. None of the “values” on the basis of which the new law is formulated makes any reference to multiculturalism or diversity as a crucial component of education. Instead, individual effort, quality of education, rigorous methods of assessment, social consideration for teachers, and autonomy of the institutions are the main points covered. The law simply offers vague guidelines as to how autonomous administrations should deal with immigrant education, but there is no specific indication of financial support from the central administration or, for example, significant changes in the curriculum. It is surprising, then, that the main criticism of this law has been focused on its competitive nature and potential interference with autonomous powers, but not on its lack of provision for immigrant education (Pedro Simón, *El Mundo*, 16/05/03).

Basically, this means that autonomous communities have been left to their own devices to resolve the issue of immigrant education. Taking into account that the Ministry of Education still regulates 55%–65% of the curriculum and monitors assessment methods throughout the country, more specific guidelines should have been forthcoming in the new reform. This is particularly self-evident given the obvious failure of both the Spanish authorities and the education system to adapt to the new reality of immigration. The result of this lack of orientation from the central government is that the Spanish education system is reacting in a number of ways, which differ from one autonomous community to another. Most of the projects implemented in the country include language support classes for immigrants with poor knowledge of Castilian (in Madrid or Andalucía, for example); support for immigrant pupils with difficulties in particular subjects (such as mathematics or chemistry, for example, in the Basque Country); or information services for their parents (Barcelona). Nevertheless, it would appear that

¹ <http://www.imsersomigracion.upco.es/menores/indice.htm>

the lack of a common strategy for integration in Spain is making immigrant pupils' lives more difficult, since there is no proper funding for these projects, and teachers have not received proper training or obtained national qualifications.

5. Report by the Spanish Ombudsman (El Defensor del Pueblo), April 2003

The most complete and reliable survey on the situation of immigrant pupils in Spain was released in April 2003 by the Spanish Ombudsman (El Defensor del Pueblo) in co-operation with UNICEF. This report explores the situation of immigrant pupils in five autonomous communities (Madrid, Cataluña, Valencia, Andalusia and Murcia). The report is based on questionnaires and interviews conducted in 180 public primary and secondary schools that belong to these communities. More than 2,000 teachers, 10,000 Spanish pupils and 5,000 Spanish families were interviewed. However, only 1,270 immigrant pupils and 275 immigrant families were included in the survey, a surprisingly low percentage.

The first conclusion of the report is that the Spanish education system is responding positively to the new reality of immigration. According to the report "improvisation and urgency are being avoided and the results of this study prove it, as does the similarity of the responses in all communities studied".²

The report emphasises the effort made by autonomous communities to adapt to this new phenomenon, and praises the solutions and projects put into place in Valencia, Barcelona and Madrid. Nevertheless, different problems are also reported. The main concern expressed in this report refers to the high level of concentration of immigrant pupils in public institutions, which are also mostly located in disadvantaged environments. According to the figures provided, in institutions where immigrant pupils represent more than 30% of the total number of pupils, the opinion of teachers and Spanish pupils on the situation is negative, whereas in institutions where this figure drops to below 30%, the opinions are more positive. Teachers are generally unhappy with the resources provided by the authorities to deal with immigration, especially in institutions with more than 30% immigrant pupils. This is the same impression given by previous statistics which have appeared in the Spanish newspapers regarding Spanish pupils, reporting some alarming figures regarding the opinion of Spaniards on their fellow (immigrant) pupils in those institutions (*El Mundo*, 2003). Consequently, it appears that concentration, or to be more precise, unequal distribution, of immigrant pupils, seems to be the main concern of the report.

The solutions offered in order to solve that problem are mainly concerned with the distribution of immigrants. Private institutions which receive funding from the State or autonomous communities must share the responsibility of educating immigrant pupils, according to the report. Their admission procedures, therefore, will be revised to make sure that equal opportunity is respected and immigrant pupils are fairly treated.

² www.defensordelpueblo.es/index.asp?destino=informes2.asp

This goal becomes paramount in this document, which goes as far as to say that freedom of choosing public schools could be restricted in order to ensure a more equal distribution of immigrants.³

There are, nevertheless, other ways to approach this problem that seem to have been overlooked in this document. If immigrants are concentrated in the same public institutions, it could simply be because their parents can only get employment in those areas, rather than because of unfair admission procedures on the part of the schools. In other words, the problem of concentration of immigrants in public institutions in deprived areas could mean that the two dimensions of integration, the economic and the educational, could be mutually exclusive (Duprez, 2002: 7). If social mobility of immigrants is restricted to deprived areas, there is a high probability that immigrant pupils will be concentrated in the public schools of those areas, instead of being more equally distributed throughout the region. Therefore, social mobility and economic conditions seem to be more important than selection methods in solving this problem. Moreover, the concern about the distribution of immigrants refers to an administrative problem, rather than an educational one. A more rational distribution of immigrant pupils may help to develop a proper primary and secondary education for them, but will be ineffective if it is not followed up by improvements in materials, assessment methods or teacher training.

6. Courses of Action

The report offers recommendations for action, making it easy to identify the problems that education in Spain is facing with regard to immigrant schooling. Considering that in Spain the second generation of immigrants is still at school, these recommendations are crucial for the future, and also reveal the way in which the Spanish education model is being constructed.

- a) According to the document, specific training for teachers still needs to be fully developed. Some autonomous communities offer courses for teachers who are engaged in immigrant education, but these courses are not co-ordinated and still need to be properly monitored. Qualifications obtained in these courses do not have national recognition, and teachers are not generally remunerated for this additional work. In addition, more courses on multicultural and intercultural education are needed. According to experience in other countries, what teachers involved in education of immigrants need is “a set of guidelines incorporating the ability to move easily between different cultural systems” (Sen Gupta, 2002: 155). These guidelines should provide information on different cultural systems, and strategies to implement the guidelines with empathy, respect and tolerance for ambiguity. The way in which the teacher training programme will be developed in Spain remains to be seen. It may be postulated that a huge effort will be necessary to co-ordinate the policies of the central government with those of the autonomous communities in terms of content, qualification and recognition.

³ www.defensordelpueblo.es/index.asp?destino=informes2.asp: 8

- b) Immigration does not seem to have had much affect on the context and structure of the programmes, according to this report, nor has it affected the scope of the subjects covered and methods of evaluation and assessment. In this respect, it is clear that the autonomous communities and the central government need to co-ordinate their efforts to introduce variations into the curriculum, along with new methods of assessment and evaluation. The same applies to the materials used in the classroom. The autonomous communities will also have to adapt their “regional curriculum” to the needs of the immigrants, who, in many cases, do not have any knowledge of the local language (this could create problems in those communities in which the native language is used as vehicular language, for example).
- c) The report also highlights the need for an increase in educational research focusing on multicultural issues. There is also a need for more accurate data on immigrants, for which standardisation of collection methods is recommended. Information services for immigrants are also important, and still need to be developed in some Spanish communities. Proper funding for all these projects is also required.

7. “The Spanish Education Model” in Context

It is probably too soon to talk about a Spanish education model, since immigration is a recent phenomenon in democratic Spain. Nevertheless, both LOCE and the report of the Defensor del Pueblo reveal some features that could be considered the basis for the future approach to migrant education in Spain. The starting point seems to be that that integration and assimilation are the two priorities in education of immigrants. Both documents stress the fact that immigrants should adapt to the practices of Spanish society in order to benefit from their advantages and services, but tend to overlook the duties and responsibility of Spanish society regarding immigrants. No clear mention is made in these documents of the fact that diversity and multiculturalism will have a positive effect on Spanish society. On the contrary, there seems to be concern that the intake of immigrants could delay the convergence of Spain with other EU members in terms of quality standards in education, for example. This is obvious in LOCE, the preamble of which gives the impression that the quality of education in Spain could be threatened by the intake of immigrants. In this light, it would appear that the policies promoted in these documents do not consider diversity as a strength, but as a potentially dangerous weakness. Both documents, which are the main official sources available at the moment, praise the values of cohesion and assimilation over other values like diversity, pluralism or multiculturalism, and promote policies that could be considered patronising, and in which the fear of ghettoisation can be easily perceived.

As it stands, the Spanish approach to education could be characterised to some extent as being mono-linguistic, unidirectional and mono-cultural, despite the efforts made in some Spanish communities. Even in the most advanced autonomous communities, such as Madrid, Cataluña or Valencia, the main goal of public education seems to be the absorption of cultural minorities into the hegemonic regional culture of the majority, rather than ensuring the peaceful coexistence of different cultures (Shafir, 1995: 85). In this sense, it could be said that the Spanish education model has a distinctively French

flavour, although with a less centralised appearance. The difficulties of Spanish autonomous communities in acknowledging cultural minorities in their own regions could be a result of the long-term struggle with central government to preserve their own identity, and of the protective and defensive strategy they pursued after autonomy was granted in 1986. They now need to adapt to the new reality of immigration. As social scientists have warned, a change of direction is needed if real integration is to be achieved: “We do not need a compensatory education, we need a new education. Intercultural education is expensive, but necessary” (Calvo Buezas, *El Mundo*, 13/03/03).

8. Conclusion

Any educational model has its own inherent problems. There is no perfect system. There are problems with education of immigrants in Great Britain, France and Germany, and Spain will not be an exception in the years to come. Since the Spanish “model”, as so argued in this paper, can be considered a decentralised version of the French integrationist approach, this conclusion will briefly analyse some of the challenges that education in France is facing at the moment, thereby presenting possible courses of action open to Spain at some time in the future.

The last presidential election clearly manifested that French education policies were “failing to address many of the social symptoms of the immigration/integration question, especially the socio-economic decline and isolation of the banlieus, the growing unemployment and delinquency amongst young people, and the attraction of militant Islamism” (Favell, 2001: 156). The accusation has been made that the hard-hitting policies that have been implemented in France since the beginning of the 90’s have addressed the symptoms of the problem, not the causes (Pine, *The Guardian*, 08/05/2002). There has been increased spending on police and control technology rather than on social concerns in France in recent years, without significant results. Drop-out rates from schools and problems in educational institutions are on the increase (Soubré, 1995: 68–69). The integrationist approach that worked well for earlier waves of mainly European immigrants, has not done so for North African or West African immigrants, who, having lost their cultural heritage, have not been integrated or assimilated into society. The situation could have long-term consequences, since the heritage of colonialism has led these countries to maintain links with their former colonies that are both narrow and potentially conflictive (Duprez, 2002: 1).

This is a possible scenario for the Spanish case. Education for immigrants in Spain will need to present a coherent model in which multicultural approaches ensure the peaceful coexistence of different cultures, rather than the dominant position of the host culture, in order to fine-tune the dynamics of exclusion and inclusion. But this would only resolve part of the problem. If the educational dimension of integration is not followed up by the economic dimension (social mobility, job opportunities, equal distribution), then peaceful coexistence between nationals and immigrants will be difficult to achieve, since “the occupational and residential gap between them could become rigidified and therefore, ethnicized” (Shafir, 1995: 85).

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Pablo La Porte

OBRAZOVANJE DRUGE GENERACIJE IMIGRANATA U ŠPANJOLSKOJ: POTRAGA ZA IDENTITETOM I PUTOVI INTEGRACIJE

SAŽETAK

Namjera je ovog rada istražiti koji se obrazovni model za imigrantsku djecu upotrebljava u Španjolskoj. Teoretski, u Europi je moguće razlikovati trend posvemašnjeg uključenja imigranata u obrazovni sustav društva primatelja (tzv. francuski ili asimilacijski model) i alternativni trend očuvanja odvojenosti ili čak segregacije među različitim kulturama (tzv. anglosaski model). Koji trend prevladava u Španjolskoj, zemlji sa skorašnjim priljevom imigranata i drugom generacijom u začetku koja pokušava odrediti svoje mjesto u društvu? Ako su prisutna oba trenda, što je često slučaj, koji prevladava? Članak se bavi nekim temeljnim pitanjima istraživanja migracija kao što su: kolik se stupanj prilagodbe u društvo primatelja zahtijeva od pridošlica i koje su teškoće obrazovnog sustava s obzirom na integraciju imigranata. U radu se na ta pitanja nastoji odgovoriti uglavnom na istraživački način jer raspoloživi podaci nisu iscrpni. Uz novinske članke i bibliografiju, autor se poslužio i dvama ključnim dokumentima. Prvi je nedavno objavljeni izvještaj javnog pravobranitelja (travanj 2003) o obrazovanju imigranata, a drugi je godišnji izvještaj Instituta za migracije i socijalne djelatnosti (IMSERSO) o učenicima imigrantima u Španjolskoj.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: obrazovanje, imigranti, Španjolska, reforma obrazovanja, obrazovni model

Pablo La Porte

L'EDUCATION DE LA DEUXIEME GENERATION D'IMMIGRANTS EN ESPAGNE :
RECHERCHE D'IDENTITE ET VOIES DE L'INTEGRATION

RÉSUMÉ

L'intention de cet article est d'explorer à quel modèle éducatif recourt l'Espagne pour les enfants d'immigrants. Théoriquement, on peut discerner deux courants en Europe : celui de l'intégration totale des immigrants dans le système éducatif de la société d'accueil (dit modèle français ou d'assimilation) et celui qui veut que soit conservée une séparation voire même une ségrégation entre les différentes cultures (dit modèle anglo-saxon). Quel courant domine en Espagne, pays qui a récemment accueilli un afflux d'immigrants, dont la deuxième génération commence à se faire jour et essaye de définir la place qu'elle occupe dans la société ? Si les deux courants sont présents, ce qui est souvent le cas, lequel domine ? L'article traite certaines questions fondamentales de la recherche sur les migrations, à savoir : quel degré d'assimilation dans la société d'accueil est exigé des nouveaux arrivés et quelles sont les difficultés que suscite l'intégration des immigrants dans le système éducatif. L'auteur s'efforce de répondre à ces questions en s'appuyant sur ses recherches, car les données disponibles sont incomplètes. Outre les articles de journaux et les ouvrages constituant sa bibliographie, l'auteur a utilisé deux documents clés. Le premier est le rapport publié par le Médiateur (Defensor del Pueblo) en avril 2003 sur l'éducation des immigrés. Le second est le rapport annuel de l'Institut des Migrations et des Services Sociaux (IMSERSO) sur les élèves immigrés en Espagne.

MOTS CLÉS : éducation, immigrants, Espagne, réforme de l'enseignement, modèle éducatif